Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 066240
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011
DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:DPFOTENHAUER
APPROVED BY: S/S-O: RGAMBLE
----------250310Z 093403 /62
P 242359Z MAR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMCONSUL MONTREAL PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 066240

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT NICOSIA 0799 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA ATHENS LONDON VIENNA EC BRUSSELS USUN NEW YORK 22 MAR 77

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0799

EXDIS

DEPT PASS AT DISCRETION TO AMCONSUL MONTREAL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY
SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR VIENNA CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

1. GOC FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES INVITED ME TO A SMALL LUNCHEON MARCH 21 WITH ADVISOR STELLA SOULIOTI AND AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU WHO IS VISITING FROM WASHINGTON. THE LUNCHEON CONSTITUTED AN INTIMATE, FRIENDLY REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN ANTICIPATION OF VIENNA. I FOUND THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE, AS REPRESENTED IN THESE THREE, SERIOUS, NON-POLEMIC AND POSITIVE, REFLECTING MAKARIOS' COMMITMENTS TO CLIFFORD AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. I THINK THE LUNCHEON WAS IN ESSENCE AN EFFORT BY THE "GOOD GUYS" CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 066240

ON THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE MILDLY TENSE EXCHANGES OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK WERE BEHIND US AND THAT WE WERE SATISFIED.

2. FROM THE LUNCHEON DISCUSSION IT WAS APPARENT THAT MRS. SOULIOTI HEADS THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE IN DOCUMENTARY AND FACTUAL PREPARATION FOR VIENNA. THIS IS GOOD. SHE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

IS EXTREMELY ABLE AND ON THE WHOLE A CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE
ONCE SHE KNOWS THE DIRECTION IN WHICH MAKARIOS WANTS TO GO.

3. THE CONVERSATION PRODUCED REFLECTIONS OF CONCERN THAT
NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS MIGHT SOUR VIENNA BECAUSE OF
HIS PERSONALITY AND NEGATIVISM, REGARDLESS OF HOW FIRM
THE ARCHBISHOP'S MARCHING ORDERS. IT WAS PARTLY IN THIS
SENSE THAT CHRISTOPHIDES SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE VERY
IMPORTANT TO HAVE A DISCREET AMERICAN PRESENCE IN VIENNA.

4. WHEN THE TROUBLESOME ISSUE OF THE TFSC FIR PROCLAIMATION
WAS DISCUSSED, THERE WAS A SOLID CONSENSUS THAT THIS ISSUE
SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN UP AND ALLOWED TO CONTAMINATE VIENNA BUT
SHOULD BE HANDLED IN OTHER CHANNELS, PREFERABLY BY RECOURSE
TO THE ICAO COUNCIL.

5. ON MARCH 22, I SAW TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON, PARTLY IN
ANTICIPATION OF A MEETING SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 23 WITH DENKTASH.
FROM ONHON, TOO, IT APPEARED THAT MATTERS WERE GENERALLY ON
COURSE, ALTHOUGH WITH ONE OR TWO WORRYING SIGNALS. I BEGAN
BY DESCRIBING IN SOME DETAIL MY POSITIVE IMPRESSIONS FROM THE
CHRISTOPHIDES LUNCHEON. ONHON TOOK SOME NOTES AND SAID HE WAS
PLEASED TO LEARN OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE'S APPARENTLY
CONSTRUCTIVE AND SERIOUS INTENTIONS. WHEN I ASKED HOW THE
TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE WAS COMING ALONG, HE SAID THINGS WERE NOT
GOING BADLY, BUT HE FOUND HIMSELF IN ONE OF THE MOST
DIFFICULT POSITIONS EVER. ON THE ONE HAND, ANKARA WAS
BEING COMMENDABLY FIRM IN ITS "GUIDANCE" TO DENKTASH IN FUL-
FILLMENT OF COMMITMENTS TO CLIFFORD, BUT ON THE OTHER, HE HAD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 066240

TO CARRY OUT THESE INSTRUCTIONS WITH A LIGHT TOUCH IN ORDER
NOT TO APPEAR OPENLY INTRUSIVE AND THEREBY EXACERBATE DENKTASH'S
NEGATIVISM. THERE WAS, ONHON SAID, NO IGNORING THE FACT THAT
DENKTASH WAS BEING DIFFICULT, MORE DIFFICULT THAN ONHON
RECALLED FROM HIS NINE-YEAR INVOLVEMENT IN CYPRUS QUESTIONS.
HE ASCRIBED THIS TO AN INNER IRRITATION ON THE PART OF
DENKTASH, WHO HAS A WELL-KNOWN PROBLEM IN LETTING ANYONE ELSE
HAVE THE LIMELIGHT, OVER THE FACT THAT ONAN AND NOT HE WILL
BE IN VIENNA. ONHON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT RESENTMENT OVER
STRICT INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANKARA ALSO PLAYED A LARGE PART;
SO, TOO, DID THE OBSTRUCTIVE POSITIONS BEING TAKEN BY CERTAIN
HARDLINE TFSC LEADERS, PRINCIPALLY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
PRESIDENT OREK: "DENKTASH'S KYPRIANOU." ONHON NOTED IN THIS
CONNECTION THAT DENKTASH IS GETTING THE STEADIEST SUPPORT FOR
FLEXIBLE NEGOTIATION FROM THE FAR LEFT, ANOTHER PARALLEL WITH
THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE AND ONE WHICH EH FELT COULD NOT BE A
COINCIDENCE AND MUST BE ON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW.

6. ONHON SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTIES IT WOULD

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

CREATE WITH AN FOR DENKTASH, HE HAD BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID
ANY DIECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PREPARATION OF THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL AND POSITION PAPERS ON OTHER
ASPECTS. INSTEAD, HE HIMSELF WORKED ON A DAILY BASIS WITH
PROFESSOR ALDIKACHTI, THE TURKISH MAINLAND, CONSTITUTIONAL
ADVISER TO DENKTASH. ALDIKACHTI, IN TURN, SOUGHT TO KEEP
THE TURKISH CYPRIOT POSITIONS EVOLVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.
WHEN I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE RESULTING TURKISH CYPRIOT
CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL WOULD REPRESENT A SUBSTANTIAL
IMPROVEMENT OVER THEIR EQUIVALENT APRIL 1976 PAPER, ONHON
CANDIDLY SAID, "SOME, BUT WITHOUT TOO MANY DIFFERENCES."
WHEN I ASKED WHETHER ALDIKACHTI WOULD ACCOMPANY THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT DELEGATION TO VIENNA, ONHON SAID NO.

7. IN A MORE POSITIVE VEIN, ONHON SAID HE HOPED WE WERE
AWARE OF DENKTASH'S COMMITMENT TO DE CUELLAR TO HAVE HIS
SIDE RESPOND SUBSTANTIVELY AND MEANINGFULLY TO THE GREEK
CONFIDENTIAL

CYPRIOT TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL TO BE SUBMITTED IN VIENNA
(PARA 4, NICOSIA 0736). I SAID DE CUELLAR HAD INFORMED US.

8. ONHON INDICATED A GENERAL AWARENESS (FROM GORGE) OF THE
US ROLE OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK IN KEEPING MAKARIOS TO HIS
COMMITMENTS TO CLIFFORD. COMMENT: WE DISAPPROVE THE UN, OR
GORGE PERSONALLY, HAVING DONE THIS. OUR UNDERSTANDING WITH
CHRISTOPHIDES THROUGHOUT THE SAID EXCHANGES WAS THAT THEY
WOULD NOT BE COMMUNICATED TO THE TURKISH SIDE. DE CUELLAR-GORGE
WERE SO INFORMED WHEN I PUT THEM INTO THE PICTURE FOR THEIR
BACKGROUND. END COMMENT.

9. WE TURNED TO THE TFSC FIR DECLARATION. SPEAKING PERSONALLY,
ONHON SAID THIS HAD BEEN BADLY BUNGLED BY THE TURKISH SIDE,
BOTH IN ANKARA AND NICOSIA. HE EXPLAINED THIS AS FOLLOWS:
TURKISH PILOTS USING THE ANKARA/ERCAN (AMBER 28) NORTH-SOUTH
CORRIDOR HAD THREATENED TO STOP FLYING INTO ERCAN UNLESS SOME
EFFECTIVE SYSTEM WERE DEVISED TO GIVE THEM GREATER ASSURANCE OF
SAFETY FROM COLLISON WITH HEAVY EAST-WEST TRAFFIC PLYING
THE AIR SPACE BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN TURKISH COAST AND NORTHERN
CYPRUS. THE TURKISH EMBASSY IN NICOSIA HAD SUPPORTED THE
PILOTS' REQUEST. ANKARA HAD COMPLIED BY TRANSMITTING TO
THE TFSC, THROUGH THE TURKISH EMBASSY, LANGUAGE OF A NOTAM.
THIS HAD BEEN OF A SECONDARY CLASSIFICATION, HAD NOT EXACTLY
ENTAILED ACTION EQUIVALENT TO AN ASSERTION OF SOVEREIGNTY
BY THE TFSC, I.E. THE DECLARATION OF AN FIR IN CONFLICT WITH
AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED ICAO FRAMEWORK, AND HAD IN ANY CASE
BEEN INTENDED A PURELY OPTIONAL DEVICE FOR ADVISORY SERVICES
FOR PILOTS. THIS HAD BEEN, ONHON COMMENTED, THE FIRST BAD
MISTAKE. BEFORE LETTING THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS GET INTO ANYTHING
SO POLITICALLY SENSITIVE, THE GOT SHOULD HAVE GONE TO ICAO TO

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

OBTAIN PRACTICAL ADVICE AND SOLICIT ITS COOPERATION IN THE
PROBLEM AT HAND. THE SECOND MISTAKE, ONHON ASSERTED, WAS THAT
THE TFSC HAD CHANGED THE GOT DRAFT IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT
RESPECTS AND GONE AHEAD TO ISSUE IT WITHOUT FURTHER CONSULTATION.
ONHON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, "NOW WE ARE IN A MESS" BECAUSE CLEARLY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 066240

ICAO AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL NOT ACCEPT THE TURKISH
POSITION.

10. IN FURTHER DISCUSSION, ONHON AGREED EMPHATICALLY
THAT THE FIR ISSUE SHOULD BE KEPT TOTALLY AWAY FROM
VIENNA. HE THOUGHT AN APPEAL TO THE ICAO COUNCIL FOR
HELP IN RESOLVING THE DISPUTE WOULD BE APPROPRIATE.
HE BELIEVED THAT REACTIVATION OF THE PRE-1974 NICOSIA
INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT FIR WAS A POSSIBILITY WORTH
CONSIDERING IN DISCUSSIONS WITH ICAO.

11. COMMENT: I FIND IT SOMEWHAT DISTURBING THAT ONHON
MAKES SO MUCH OF THE TURKISH PROBLEMS WITH DENKTASH.
I AM SURE THESE PROBLEMS DO EXIST, BUT THE POSITION AS
BEING GIVEN TO US HERE AND IN ANKARA IS ONE THAT WILL
ENABLE TURKEY TO ASSERT THAT IT DID ITS BEST TO FULFILL
ITS COMMITMENTS TO CLIFFORD AND ANY SHORTFALL IN OUR EXPECT-
ATIONS (ON THE CONSTITUTIONA PROPOSAL) WILL HAVE BEEN DUE TO
DENKTASH'S RECALCITRANCE. ONHON'S SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSED
ADMISSION THAT THE EMERGING CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL WILL
NOT BE TOO DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF APRIL 1976 IS RELEVANT.
END COMMENT.

12. IF DEPT HAS ANY INSTRUCTIONS FOR MY MEETING WITH
DENKTASH, PLEASE TRANSMIT FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS HERE
MARCH 23.
CRAWFORD

UNQUOTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PLANNING MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE066240
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:DPFOTENHAUER
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770102-0203
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770324/aaaaauyc.tel
Line Count: 210
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ef9a61b2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3003407
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PREPARATIONS FOR VIENNA CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, US, (CHRISTOFIDIS, IOANNIS), (DIMITRIOU, NICOS G), (CRAWFORD, WILLIAM R JR)
To: MONTREAL
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ef9a61b2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009